1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

888 565 589 [434] [788] on by intermediaries because of the seclusion common among upper class women. If the activity has proven successful during their life it is carried on into old age, and if not then it is dropped. Thus old women, like men, in Bornu have a place in society. It is not generally a position of great authority, although there are some notable exceptions. Certainly, however, deference and respect for the aged is a universal feature of good Kanuri manners. Blessing the young is a cultural symbol of this respect. Old people bless young people when the latter go on trips or there is some special event such as a birth or the naming of a new baby. The seriousness with which such blessings are given and received is evidence of the importance placed on the special capacities of wisdom and propriety that the Kanuri associate with old age.

Death

761 Just as pregnancy marks the potential beginning of life, so death marks the end. The Kanuri have a quiet accepting attitude toward death; it is unpleasant, but it is always there. The high mortality rate for children, and the desirability that as many as possible in a community attend a funeral means that Kanuri adults attend many more of these ceremonies than people in western society. Thus death and funerals are much more commonly noted and accepted than in the United States where the entire subject is considered repugnant.

764 775 621 The Kanuri believe that going to funerals helps the deceased person to achieve paradise. The more prayers said by as many people as possible and as many religious leaders as possible, then the better are the chances of success. Indeed this is not only true in death but throughout life. People go to a particular funeral because the deceased was "a man of our town," or they attend one in another locality because the person was a relative or a friend. Not to go, even to the funeral of a very low status person of one's own village, is unthinkable. A high ranking official of Magumeri remarked at a funeral of a poor, very old, butcher that only twenty years ago he would not have shaken the hand of such a man, but times have changed. However, when asked whether he would have attended such a man's funeral in former times he looked incredulous; there could be no question about it if they were of the same community. Thus death ties a community together and expresses one's membership in it. No matter what other differences may exist between people, there is one occasion when the only criterion for active participation is a common residence in the same locality.

764 621 The compulsion to go to funerals is very strong. Thus a young woman who teaches in the Bornu secondary school system and is highly westernized in many of her attitudes told me that she had to go to a funeral about 100 miles away in the bush. This involved very uncomfortable travel by lorry, then a long horseback ride in the rainy season. However, she never once considered the possibility that she might not attend even though there was every likelihood she would miss the ceremony. Her relatives were having a funeral—therefore she must go; there was no choice although she preferred not to go.

764 Kanuri burial ceremonies themselves are held as close to the first morning after death as is possible. I observed only one exception to this rule; a very old man

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even international competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craftworker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one section of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

tury system of a flexible hierarchy described in Chapter 2 in which the number and authority of political offices can expand with the settlement size is still recognized and practiced.

In Magumeri village area one lawan is responsible for the administration of the entire area. All permanent residents in the area, when asked who their local leader is, reply, "We are the commoners of Lawan Mina. We are his people." This does not apply, or at least applies less, to those persons who live locally and are themselves higher in the political hierarchy than lawan or are local representatives of the emirate civil service departments. They have their own political superiors and are responsible to others besides the lawan. Thus they give their taxes to lawan because they live in Magumeri, and he must collect the village tax, but a dispute between one of these men and a peasant would be adjudicated at a higher level in the political hierarchy than that held by lawan.

In his own part of town the lawan acts as his own ward head. Many of the compounds in the ward are reserved for his own followers, In Magumeri this includes the lawan's own compound with his four wives, married son and grandchildren, several clients and his aged mother. Some twenty followers consider themselves the active supporters of lawan under his chief follower or *wakil*. Each of these men have their own compounds near that of lawan or at least in his ward. They receive economic aid from him in the form of food, clothing, and money as well as a recognized role as a member of his retinue. Peasants often ask one of these followers to intercede with the lawan on their behalf, or to help in arranging a meeting between parties to a dispute with the lawan as the judge.

This retinue of followers who are called collectively by a special name (*waladi*) are linked together under the lawan and serve as his administrative staff. They keep in touch with gossip, aid in collecting taxes, act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him, help him on his farm plots, and carry messages for him. When he travels, several of these men are always with him on horse and on foot, and give him the appearance of being what he is—a man a cut above the common citizenry of the village area—a local official of the kingdom whose title is conferred officially by the Shehu himself. Indeed today his is the lowest rung of the political hierarchy that is recognized as a salaried job in the emirate.

This entire administrative organization of the lawan can easily be discerned by asking the people of his ward whether they would move to another village if he were transferred or dismissed. There are quite a large number in the ward who would remain. These are not his followers but they do regard him as the leader of their ward and like everyone else in the emirate they see him as the official leader of their village area. They have seen several lawans come and go, and if this particular lawan were to continually overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to making some complaints about him to his superiors. Thus their good will and support must be solicited by the lawan. Indeed such a check on his authority applies to all the people in the village area. Another check which any person in the area has over the lawan is the possibility of migration. Any person is free to move away from the village area into another whenever he wishes, and a serious migration out of some political unit weakens the leadership and is almost always interpreted as a sign of faulty administration by superiors in the emirate government.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The lawan's son in Magumeri, like many others whose fathers have positions of authority, wisely avoids any active leadership in his father's administration. His job as the adult education organizer for a literary campaign in the entire district keeps him traveling much of the time, and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. His father, on the other hand, is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces the program vigorously in Magumeri since he knows this will help his son's career in the Bornu emirate government. If and when the son should ever replace his father, or gain some political office elsewhere in the kingdom, he would recruit many of his subordinates from the households of his father's followers. Thus superior-subordinate relations are often continued down the generations. Some fall by the wayside because there are always more potential followers available than needed, as the households of followers expand with their own children and clients. However since the son may choose any one within or beyond his father's administration he can insist on only the best performance and the most loyalty from those chosen. On the other hand, should the son not obtain his father's position, and not succeed in any other way in the political or economic life of Bornu, then his father's followers will begin to see that they must find places elsewhere for the younger members of their own households. When this happens the continuity of lawan's administration down the generations begins to disintegrate. This process is repeated at every level of the political hierarchy and lies near the core of political life in Bornu.

On a day-to-day basis the most important matters, especially in rural areas like Magumeri, are taken to the lawan. As we have seen in Chapter 5 he is a central figure in transferring land, using his office as a sort of registry for local land negotiations. He witnesses many marriages and divorces, and arbitrates disputes among those under his jurisdiction. Indeed most of the people living in Magumeri feel more secure about a decision they have made that might affect their neighbors if the matter is ratified and witnessed by a person in authority. Thus if a man in Magumeri village wishes to move his compound walls and expand his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it, and they both go to the lawan to report the intended action. The lawan asks one or two of his followers to find out if the contiguous neighbors object, and if so on what grounds. If there is no objection the action is ratified; if some are forthcoming, then a judicial hearing results in which the lawan hears the case. What this means is that for almost everyone in Bornu, especially in the rural areas, an enormous number of everyday activities are taken through the political system when relations between households are at issue. This in turn means that the political system is close to and very involved with the daily lives of the people.

As a salaried official of the emirate government, the lawan collects taxes from all men over eighteen in the village area. This is based on property assessments of their capital in cash and kind for that particular year. Over-taxing is common in rural areas where the people are illiterate, and even when it is not done, the taxpayers believe it is common. If the over-taxing is too burdensome, it is known that complaints against the lawan to higher officials in Bornu can bring at least an investigation and perhaps lead to his dismissal.

There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his

121 The anthropological concept of the community is used to
621 define a micro-society. The community of the present study is an urban town, and its people belong to a variety of sub-groups. The townspeople of Geidam are members of occupational groups, social classes, ethnic sub-groups, common interest groups, neighborhoods, and friendship groups. They may be members of many such groups, which may overlap, but they all share one characteristic--they are all Geidamites, part of an interacting community. The various interlocking social groups of the town make up its social structure.

121 In terms of the particular field situation, the general
177 acculturation problem presented above becomes: In what ways does the process of acculturation differ among members of differing groups in the urban community of Geidam? Two related additional problems emerge from the general one. The original problem focuses attention on the manner in which social structure guides and directs acculturation. A necessary consequence is that the social structure itself is undergoing change. The second problem is: what are the changes in social structure brought about by contact? Lastly, a third and oft-neglected problem concerns the mechanisms whereby changes are controlled and kept within acceptable cultural limits so that the emergent social structure retains its integration. Generally, this falls within the area of social control, though it is not usually seen in this light.

121 Before the research itself can be presented, however, much

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 [622] Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [592] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (saqdi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

[GEIDAM]

632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula- [622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem- 621 563 177 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Kabam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all 621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [243] [285] [463]

GEIDAM

632 621 [243] [435] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (segdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koldi make segdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] [283] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] [622] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] [323] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Craftsmen who make the fine sitting mat (bəli), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

14

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
511 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[574] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[931] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the craftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 and sɔgdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[563] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice
[474] of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[543] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

101
103 The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road. Magumeri is the name of
162 both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher
634 proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

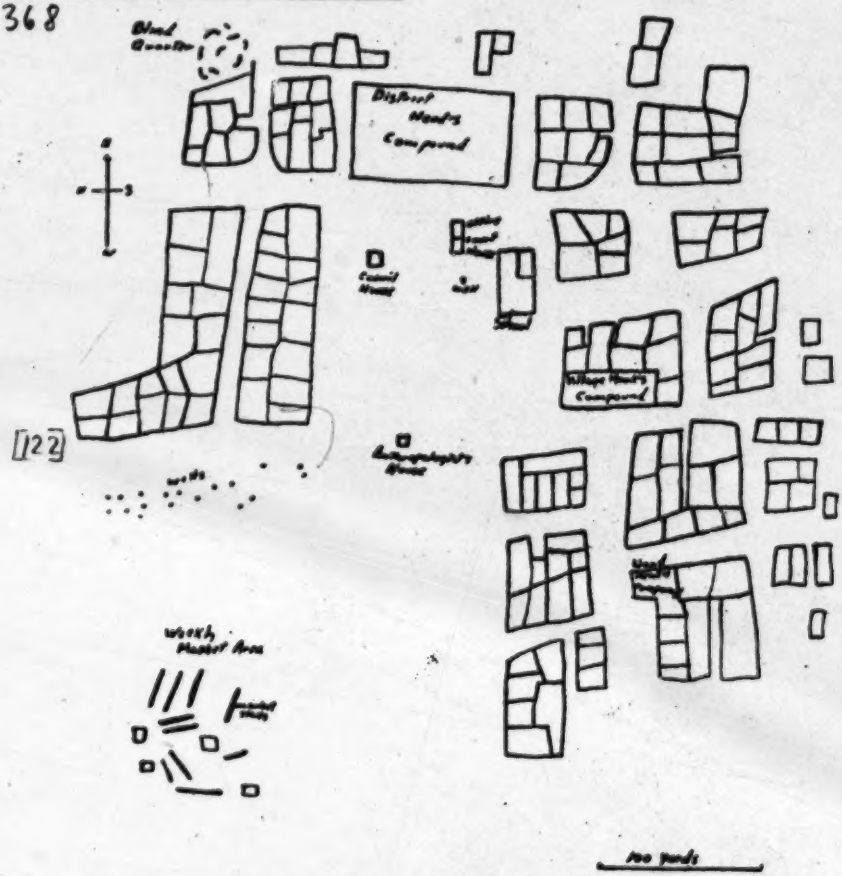
162 The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area
634 of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries
632 there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are
[166] larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

361
621 Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again
366 with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from
088 the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

634 Like other district capitals,
[621] Magumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
[368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an infrequently used District Council House, and a district office in which the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Magumeri Village
368



[122]

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri MS14

342 Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

• 621 [273] In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

184 This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu. [114] After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

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651 Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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[651] Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his [792] rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves. [103] Very often such a settlement would be sahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas [621] can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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651 In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

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571 Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilocal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs [591] from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up • [621] his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

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602 In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of bərzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collater-

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557 case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is
[554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bermu as in all societies.

556 In another residence grouping, a man was observed to
592 have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large
621 group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilateral parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question, [426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender [651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village 556 Head. The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms, 621 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, 571 in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and [577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

Chapter VIII [p. 229]

Political Organization

631 The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria. [648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 **The Hamlet and the Ward**

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization [571] with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 621 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation. The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] [632] Approximately three miles south-west of Nagumeri is the small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the [249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Nagumeri. Surrounding [276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo)(1) which is sold [302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanacea Incanum

571 In 1953 one of these full-time
621 gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved
166 his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo Hamlet to be closer to his fields.(1) With him he took his two wives and a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospitality he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the gworongo plots, repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a
62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Disputes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement before going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a po-
621 litical leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it continues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the original founder whose name is Aji.

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(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over taxes.

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621 This same process has occurred at Fallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsman settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head -Bulama.

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632 The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Mina - the Village Area Head
[651] of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjud-
571 ication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworogo and does so. As the years
621 pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the
622 founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Bulama (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

361 In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[Text continues on p. 233]

361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 632 621 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional units of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (ngure) under its Bàlama is slowly approaching the condition where another Bàlama will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 571 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as kin who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

If the extended household head can maintain the
621 571 554 622 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political position of Hamlet or ward head (Bàlama), depending upon the location of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the hamlet head have the same political status, that of Bàlama. This is due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Geidam, or Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have Bàlama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdictional area.

632 [565] In the town of Nagumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants. This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District [651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has functioning attachments to the Bornu N.A.

632 621 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguro Lawantari (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organization. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel
621 more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detri-
632 ment. Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organiza-
621 tion includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follow-
571 er (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man out above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indi-
• 621 cated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash mak-
[443] ers. Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained
433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten
[177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this
[294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make
[402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost
[602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the
[294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

554 828 829 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled social structures starting with the extended household organization and 621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local residence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush. This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term [602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members 621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended 557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol- [622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can eventually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through inheritance.

621 571 At the local level, the extended household organization applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

621 571 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name for this constant and fundamental organization in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organizational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

631 571 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimized and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 642 In practice there are factors present which make it impossible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository [648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous